

*What Can We Expect of Our Children—
Individual Differences*

CHILD STUDY

OCTOBER, 1929

Parental Conflicts and Their Effects on the Personality of Children

By LAWSON G. LOWREY

Individual Differences Among Members of the Same Family

By JEANETTE REGENSBURG

Ways and Means of Adjustment

By CAROLINE B. ZACHRY

Is Happiness Worth Cultivating?

By E. R. JOHNSTONE

Individual Differences Among Children in the First Two Years of Life

By CHARLOTTE BÜHLER AND HILDEGARD HETZER

Success and Failure in Childhood; the Parents' Rôle

By RUTH BRICKNER

Published by

CHILD STUDY ASSOCIATION OF AMERICA

TO MOTHERS AND FATHERS

THIS is an important announcement for every parent, friend, or teacher interested in the development of a child up to the age of sixteen.

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lishers' current lists by the Educational Board, with special attention to the age of the child. This plan is gauged on wholesome thrift. All books are included with membership, making their cost about half of the retail price.

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THE CHILDREN'S BOOK CLUB

Child Study

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NO. I

Parental Conflicts and Their Effects on the Personality of Children

By LAWSON G. LOWREY

*Psychology reaffirms three great needs of childhood—
love, peace and security.*

THE title of this article implies that parents have conflicts and that these in some way affect the development of personality in their children. In fact, this is ordinarily taken for granted. It is, however, not so easy to analyze the situations which arise and to present a clear picture of the results. It is especially difficult to give practical suggestions regarding the management of difficult family situations, chiefly because the wrong ones may be chosen. Nevertheless, at least a preliminary sketch may be attempted.

There are three general types of conflict situations involving parents. The first is the type common to all mankind—the conflict within the self—that is, arising within the individual personality. These conflicts range all the way from those which are healthy determinants of normal behavior to those which are expressed in symptoms of illness (neuroses) or in disturbing behavior.

SOME CONFLICTS ARE HEALTHFUL

This statement is deliberately intended to convey the notion that there are "normal" conflicts which lead to normal, healthy behavior. This highly significant point is frequently forgotten in the discussion of conflicts, since attention is usually centered on the more marked mechanisms and their unhealthy expressions.

These individual conflicts between motives, attended, as they are, by pleasant or unpleasant emotions of varying strength, are extremely important in determining conflicts between individuals, which rep-

resent the second general type of conflict. No matter how smoothly two or more personalities appear to blend, there will inevitably be ways in which each remains individual, and harmony between two human beings can never be perfect. We are accustomed to think of a nearly perfect matching of interests, desires and reactions as being flawless. But from this sameness to the stage of marked clashing between personalities is, after all, only a step. One small discord, often enough repeated, completely destroys harmony.

WEIGHING PARENTHOOD IN THE BALANCE

With humans, a very small straw indeed may provide the discordant note. That these small points only indicate some deeper-lying source of antipathy only increases their importance. While these conflicts or clashes between personalities are common to all, they are peculiarly important when they disturb the relationships between parents, and hence the atmosphere of the home.

Equally or perhaps even more serious is the third type of conflict which is dependent upon the very fact of becoming a parent. It is necessary to acknowledge the point that not every one who becomes a parent really wants to do so. After all, being a parent involves many sacrifices, presents many puzzling problems and, though a source of great gratification in many respects, may present various unpleasant aspects. That seems to be the state of normal parenthood—a mixture of pleasant and unpleasant in which the pleasant predominates. But there are many instances

in which, for one reason or another, the unpleasant aspects are to the fore. Conflict of an unhealthy type is then sure to emerge and have serious effects upon the child.

Of the three types of conflict, it is probable that the first is basic and essential for the other two. That is, while it seems quite possible that any one may clash at certain points with any other person, our present attitude toward marrying generally implies a certain concordance of personalities which should, under ordinary circumstances, suffice to carry the pair through life. That this does not always occur is amply attested by the separations and divorces—not to mention the endless small points of difference brought out by married couples in various ways. To explain all these areas of conflict, one is forced to consider the reactions of the individuals concerned in terms of their individual action patterns, conflicts and lacks of adaptability. As for the third type, clinical study makes clear that the primary reason for rejection of parenthood lies in various types of conflict within the individual, even though this may not be clear at first glance.

UNSEEN ESSENTIALS OF HOME

Before continuing this discussion of conflicts let us try to answer another question—what makes an environment in which children may develop normal, healthy personalities? Primarily this is a question of "atmosphere" in the psychological sense. This atmosphere, while on the whole somewhat intangible, is susceptible to some analysis. This brings us directly back to parental conflicts. It is primarily a question of the adjustment between the parents, and their reaction to the problems of parenthood.

Any analysis of these questions should logically start with a study of the reasons for marriage—that is, why people marry the persons they do. While the obvious answer, at least in our country, is that they marry for "love" (whatever that may mean), the fact is that there are many other reasons, some of which are not so happy. Time and again, viewing the situation in retrospect, a parent realizes that marriage was contracted to escape an unhappy home situation; for economic ease and security; because of a superficial attraction (which really means a casual identification of interests); or for other reasons equally foreign to those necessary to the foundation of a stable union and home. All this is a long story, not to be taken up in detail here. The important point is that people marry for many reasons, not all certain to insure happiness for themselves or their children.

Beside these imperfect motives for marriage (designed, in general, to aid the individual in flight from some disagreeable reality), there are many other

reasons for parental conflicts. It is doubtful if any one person could list all of the topics on which parents disagree. Nor would it be possible to assign relative values to the subjects. Items of minor importance to one couple are causes for divorce with another; and others weather apparently serious strains.

The significant point is that the *subject* of disagreement is relatively unimportant. What really counts is the *reason* behind the surface. The fundamental causes of a given disagreement may range over the whole panorama of human, superhuman and sub-human affairs; but its immediate incitement may be something as simple as the choice of a radio station. What happens is that, some minor spark having ignited the blaze, many repressed points come to the surface. Even these are not especially important except as indications of the real underlying antagonisms, the insecurity with one another and the lack of emotional satisfaction in the relationship.

All individuals need two things for smooth personality development. The first is the feeling of self-adequacy. By this is meant the recognition of an ability to do the things one wants to do in the way one wants to do them. There are, of course, many things one cannot do, such as live forever or (at present, at least) fly to the moon. Gradually the individual learns to eliminate such impossible objectives. Often, however, these are given up only with a wrench. Meantime, there are many things that *can* be done; and with these the individual learns to be content. But success must be had—and, more important, the individual must have the *feeling* of success. Frequently the notion of succeeding depends on recognition from other people.

The second thing is a feeling of security or wantedness in the group. People vary greatly in their needs so far as group security is concerned, but the essential points are that they should be wanted by and praised by the group. What they may desire to be wanted for and praised for will depend upon the individual's own ideals.

TO BELONG—A BASIC HUMAN NEED

All this, which is merely sketched here, is of great importance in the family setting. If adults are subject, as we have seen, to subtle emotional situations, how much more so are children. Anything in the home situation which tends to destroy the child's sense of personal adequacy, or gives the idea of being unwanted or unduly criticized, thereby impairing his sense of group security, will tend to the production of personality difficulties.

The ways in which such results may eventuate are often very subtle. A mother finds her husband quite

insupportable; far short of her ideals, economically inefficient and emotionally aloof. One of her children, a son, resembles the father very closely. That son she cannot bear—"I cannot stand to have him kiss me"—yet she knows he is not to blame, and that he needs her love and care. Many mothers, on the contrary, finding their husbands inadequate to meet their emotional needs, turn to the first son for outlet. Meantime, these same fathers are frequently jealous of the mother's concentration upon the baby. The result is a conflict, with the child as an unwilling and unwitting center. So also fathers turn to the children for outlets when mothers do not satisfy. Worse still, both being unsatisfied in their relations with each other, they try to solve the problem through the child, who becomes a storm center, in whom each parent strives for attention and affection.

Children become the repositories of the parents' drives for perfection. The parents usually have different ideas. Each parent is likely to try to cast out of the child the imperfections which he has inherited

from the "other side of the family." Each strives to protect the child from experiences which the parent found unfortunate. Ambitions—often conflicting—are projected on the child. Revenge may be taken for all the things missed, especially if the child is the favorite of the other parent who is thereby hurt.

All human passions may be and not infrequently are vented upon the child, and the parent is not always conscious of this. When one views all the adjustments to be made in marriage and parenthood it is not surprising that conflicts should develop, and, once they get beyond control, some warping in personality development of children is certain. Perhaps the most surprising fact is that adjustments *are* made. Since each case is both complex and unique, psychology can offer no panacea. But it does point out that success in adjusting parental conflicts is worth the effort; for, after all, the most important points in childhood development are to be found in an atmosphere of loving, peaceful security—not only for the child, but for all concerned.

Individual Differences Among Members of the Same Family

By JEANETTE REGENSBURG

Every growing personality demands to be respected.

THE one constant condition under which we all live is the state of being different. There are no complete identities in physical or intellectual equipment or in personality development. In spite of the fact that our world is populated by some billions of persons, no two are exactly alike either in their total make-up or in their separate endowments. While we do have statements about averages, and statistics concerning majorities, which imply that there is similarity among human beings, the fact of individual differences is universal and indisputable. It is within the family group that we first find it necessary to understand and deal constructively with these variations.

Like many things, the existence of individual differences must be seen from two angles. Dissimilarity between human beings both creates problems and solves them. Assuredly we wish to make these differences serve the latter purpose but it is probable that, in the field of child training, attention has been called

to them because they have been problem-producing rather than reducing.

What makes it possible for individual variations to become the cause of social maladaptation to the growing child? Evidently something interferes with his ability to accept his differences either as inevitable limitations which he had best ignore, or as valuable characteristics to be exploited for his own development and the social good. That "something" is primarily the feeling tone which has grown up around, and actually become part of, the difference itself. There are certain distinctions between one child and another in the same family which are so obvious and so taken for granted that their emotional values are often overlooked. The numerical position of the child is unique and frequently acquires strong dynamic significance. To be the first child may be a source of tremendous security if the parents have eagerly awaited its coming. It may be a source of insecurity if the parents hoped

for a girl and have difficulty in adjusting to a baby boy. To be the last born may have all the satisfying values of being the baby, petted, protected and indulged; it may later generate a terrific threat to the child whose parents "hate to see him grow up" when he finds himself in school and at play unequal to the independence and fighting spirit of his young contemporaries. The recent years of study have made quite clear the peculiar position of the middle child. When the third child is born, the second or middle child is forced to give up his position as the baby usually without acquiring in compensation some of the attention, rights and privileges which accrue to an older sister or brother. This frequently creates a personality problem which can readily be avoided if the peculiarities of each numerical position are evaluated and wisely used. The frequency with which children wish aloud that they were the oldest or the youngest testifies to the singularly satisfying nature of those positions.

AGE AND SEX ARE UNIVERSAL DIFFERENCES

Differences in age may also cause problems. There is the occasional attitude on the part of parents, the result of their own background of emotional experience, which sees a baby only as a helpless bit of humanity in need of physical care. All positive evidences of sympathy and understanding are thus deferred until the child is so old that he is already reacting badly to the early emotional deprivation. That such a situation arises from the parents' own unfortunate experience and not from any deliberate attempt to hurt their baby, goes without saying. One family in particular comes to mind in which the father consistently paid court to the baby, thoroughly identified always with the youngest and most helpless. As the mother was unavoidably busy taking care of the new child, the older children were isolated and unhappy. Although ordinarily the father should step heavily into the mother's rôle at this time there was no such substitution in this family and all the older children made most objectionable, but inevitable, demands for attention by being bad.

It has already been hinted that the child's sex may have important emotional value, either in conjunction with some other factor in the family life, or for itself alone. The mother may, because of her own emotional needs, be more in tune with her sons than with her daughters. The girls, then feeling unwanted, miss that understanding and freely given companionship which they need from her in order to become fine, healthy minded women themselves. To win the mother's attention they may, quite unconsciously, try to imitate their more secure brothers—never a thoroughly desirable pattern of behavior. It is easy to

see, too, how that preference on the part of the mother makes for a rivalry and competitive situation between brothers and sisters which in itself is always deplorable. There are many variations of this problem. But in each case its importance lies in the fact that parents, although themselves the product of emotional experiences and unmet needs, have it within their power, if they have sufficient insight, to give both their sons and their daughters a sense of contentment and satisfaction which allows them, at all stages of emotional development, but most particularly at adolescence, to be glad that they are what they are, either boys or girls.

When we invade the realms of physical and intellectual endowment we find the problem of individual differences multiplied tenfold. It is largely with the tools of health, strength and intellectual vigor that we make our way; they react upon each other and their influence spreads in turn to the immeasurably important sphere of emotional development.

In those cases where health is permanently impaired or physical growth deviates seriously from the average, both child and parents have a double problem. The handicap must be acknowledged but it must not be used in such a way as to deprive the child of normal companionship and play, of a sense of power in his own ability and of the natural drive to become an independent unit in social and industrial life. When the child's handicap is so painful to his parents that they can never mention it or talk about it with him directly, he too will be forced to evade the issue. With the feeling that it is something not to be breathed aloud will come also the feeling that it is queer, perhaps something to be ashamed of, certainly something that makes him not only different but also inadequate. Then there is the equally undesirable attitude of continually calling attention to the difficulty in all sorts of ways, in the hope that the child will try more conscientiously to overcome it.

ATTITUDES TO AVOID

In one instance, where the boy was quite undersized and flabby, the parents' wish to transform him into a young Hercules who would be eligible for a college football team resulted in several pathetic and destructive plans. One was to hang his room with pictures of world champions in all the branches of athletics. Another was to give him daily lessons in wrestling. Still a third was to read him the lives of eminent men who had been youthful invalids. The outcome was of course that Henry took any method of escape he could devise from the hated, humiliating subject of physical strength and prowess.

For each child there is a healthy approach to the

problem; there is no general law, because no two children and no two family relationships are sufficiently alike to justify a formula. Each child has his own limits of growth, temporary and permanent, and a natural, easy acceptance of these without comparisons, must be the goal.

The exact opposite may occur. If the beauty or precocious physical development of a child is made the object of disproportionate attention and praise, he may get so much satisfaction from the passive situation of being thus-and-so that he avoids any deeper, more social satisfaction in creation and achievement. To be sure, if he is blessed with an unusual gift, he must be allowed to recognize it and be encouraged to use it constructively. The more people he meets like himself, the less likely he is to overstress his desirable traits and the more likely to put them to good use.

We cannot leave the subject without some mention of those much more complicated situations in which a feeling of physical difference has no basis in real fact but is the outcome of an emotional problem. There are households where nothing is taken casually, and where consequently the child who is rather more prone than the others to physical upsets derives a tremendous satisfaction from being put to bed whenever he sniffls, having his temperature taken every time he coughs and being waited on assiduously during each trivial illness. When a family has had one "scare" they sometimes are so fearful of a repetition, or of losing the youngster, that they run the risk of preventing a normal social adjustment.

STRESSING ASSETS, NOT LIABILITIES

The inevitable tie-up between age, sex and physical development should be utilized rather than ignored. The strong boy can make good use of his muscles in taking care of, teaching or amusing his younger brothers and sisters. If emotional problems of rivalry arise, for example, he may turn his strength into an instrument of war which is at the same time both defensive and offensive. It is not rare to discover that a canny younger sister is exploiting her comparative weakness to make an older sister or brother do her household chores—a very effective way to evade issues and remain the baby, which can be well rationalized at any age.

There are a thousand other difficult situations that crowd into the picture—the left handed child, the straight haired little girl with the wavy haired brother, the lanky overgrown youngster in a family of stalwart shoulders, and so on. When such differences are casually admitted as of no real moment, and the child's good points utilized in a healthy, sane manner, the crystallization of an actual problem may be averted.

Even a superficial survey of the enormous field of intellectual differences makes one realize that this is a universal problem. Perhaps because a child's life is so closely related to school and its demands upon intellectual performance, because his social contacts depend in part upon his ability to understand and share his playmates' interests and activities, because from the first he associates school, that is, intellectual, success with his future standing in the competitive industrial world—for these reasons at least, he is keenly aware in school of any outstanding variations in his mental equipment.

MAKING THE MOST OF WHAT ONE REALLY IS

The child's parents are equally sensitive because, in so far as he is part of them, his success in school, his normality in social life and his vocational achievements contribute incalculably to their own self-esteem as well as to their appreciation of him as a person. At the risk of setting up an ideal which it may seem at first thought impossible to practice, the child's intellectual capacities, special aptitudes and his *achievement* as differentiated from his *endowment*, are best handled as an intrinsic part of himself alone. In the main this means two things. First that comparisons with other children be avoided, especially with other children in his family. And second that a youngster never be allowed to feel that parental approval or affection depends on the report card he brings home. The only permissible comparison—speaking from the mental hygiene viewpoint—lies within two angles of the child's own experience. Is his achievement the best he can do in the light of his endowment? If it is, the child and everyone concerned with him is justified in feeling a genuine satisfaction regardless of what some one else can do. If he is falling below his own level there never fails to be a cause, sometimes physical, more often social-emotional. The very bright child of whom so much has always been expected that she now wishes she "had been born stupid," another who discovered he could "get by," by merely listening to others recite, and still a third who refused, childishly, to take responsibility for home assignments but waited to be reminded of them each night, are all common examples of the poorly adjusted supernormal child.

THE "Good" CHILD

Not at all rare is the child who is always reading and studying, always at the top of the class, the most conscientious and lonely member of the group. This extreme position also is the outcome of a deeper social problem. A child takes excessive pleasure in these purely mental gymnastics and denies himself to natural

relationships with others for some good reason. It is sometimes a retreat from constant failure in athletics and games; it is frequently an escape from the effort of making friends whose interests and wishes must be considered as well as his own; it is often enough a supreme desire to please adults whose enthusiasm for intellectual pursuits excludes other values with an intensity which is none the less sincere because it is questionable.

As it is now widely accepted that our personal experiences are never insulated but in constant interaction, it is a truism that the past experience of every grown-up inserts itself into his relationship with his children. No better illustration can be found than in this very matter of intellectual differences, special aptitudes and special disabilities. When parents who in their youth struggled vainly for college training wish to give all their children a formal classical education, what happens to the one boy who, while longing for a job in a machine factory, realizes it will make him an outcast? When family pride is deep rooted in a tradition of professional careers, what does it do to the exceptional child whose training capacities are limited to simple academic and much manual activity?

WHAT IS PERSONALITY?

Such individual differences as these are rather in the nature of factors to which adults and children must adjust. They are more or less clear-cut variations and proportionately understandable. One is tempted to call them simple in comparison to still more subtly evolved, highly complex differences of temperament and personality. It seems nearest the truth to look upon the child's personality make-up not as *one* of his life situations to which he must adjust but as his response to his *total* life situation. This view adds to our burden of responsibility, to be sure, but at the same time it holds the hope of progress, growth and ultimate happiness.

With all the understanding in the world that behavior and attitudes are merely overt responses to a deeply significant intricate network of experiences, it is not always easy to take calm, rational action. A lie is so abhorrent to us that it is not always recognized as Elizabeth's boastfulness, the direct result of wanting to appear as good an athlete as her sister. A constant babble of talk at table is such an irritating reminder of voluble Uncle Joe that the desire to stop the flow supersedes the realization that Johnny had never tried that way of putting himself in the limelight until he was made to cut his own food and serve himself like any grown-up. Ethel's impulsive generosity may so fit our standards that it is not recognized as her way

of making the friends she is unable to attract in a healthier manner.

The way in which all things work together to mold a distinct personality is well illustrated in the history of a young girl whose difficulties were recognized just in time.

THE STORY OF ANNE

She lived in a pleasant suburb with her father, mother and an energetic sister Ruth, three years her junior. Anne was nearing the end of her fourth year in high school and the family was eagerly anticipating the graduation exercises. Three weeks before commencement day the Dean found Anne alone in the restroom crying. Since second term when she had failed algebra, she had kept her report cards from her family. They were totally ignorant of her record, did not know that she was still in third year, only one term ahead of her younger sister. What was going to happen to her when they learned of her demotions?

Anne was a large girl, about thirty pounds overweight, awkward in appearance so far as figure goes, but decidedly attractive with her blond wavy hair, small fine features and clear smooth skin. She had no close friends at school. She loved dancing but refused to go on the floor because she was "too fat." She was a splendid swimmer but never used the pool because she said the one piece bathing suit made her look ridiculous. Anne was bright enough to go to college if she wanted to, and talented enough to carve out a commercial art career, as she had once hoped to do, yet in both the purely academic subjects and the arts crafts, she had been failing for over three years. In order to get at the situation it was necessary for the Dean to break the bad news to the family. The parents, while thoroughly upset and dismayed, felt a quickening sympathy with their daughter which made it possible for her to emerge from what had been a despairing depression.

Mr. and Mrs. Packer were old childhood sweethearts. They had waited long for the proper time to marry and Anne was the more loved as the fulfillment of a deep desire. She was a healthy, husky baby, likened at once to her big, slow, florid father. Because it was such a joy to have a baby, young Mrs. Packer nursed Anne for over two years, until, in fact, she found herself pregnant with Ruth. The prolonged babying of the older girl continued until it was impossible for the child to be anything other than dependent and lacking in initiative.

DANGERS OF COMPARISON

Ruth, small, wiry, "quick as a whippet," was immediately invested with her efficient mother's characteristics. At an early age she was allowed to do things alone, assume responsibilities which were kept from Anne long after she reached her 'teens. Ruth's rapid movements and intuitive decisions were thought of as marks of brightness, Anne's deliberate thoughtfulness and inevitably slow physical reactions were instinctively classed as marks of dullness. As Anne's size increased the family unconsciously slid into the habit of sending Ruth on errands because she was quicker. Anne became even more acutely aware of her deficiencies. She worried and brooded, felt she was too unattractive to make friends, too stupid to do her lessons and straightway began to live up to her self-estimation.

Not realizing the suddenness of the change in their attitude, Mr. and Mrs. Packer dropped their vigilance when

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Ways and Means of Adjustment

By CAROLINE B. ZACHRY

WHEN questions of children's behavior are brought up with parents the response is usually eager and enthusiastic, and mothers and fathers are ready with examples from the behavior of their own children. They want to tell us how fine their children are, but in most instances they are quite as willing to discuss their problems with the child who has a bad temper, or who sulks or is shy or excitable. If one gains the confidence of these parents, they will go further into their difficulties with behavior which seem to them even more serious; *i.e.*, lying, stealing, deceitfulness and sex practices.

To what extent is the behavior or the adjustment of the child within the control of parents?

In their questions parents confront us in some such manner as this, "Well, Joe was born that way. He started it as early as I can remember. I noticed it before he was able to talk. You can't do anything about it when he is born that way, can you?"

With this first question we not only find the parent unaware of the part that he or she has played in the development of the child's behavior, but we are also forced to face at least in part our second question—the question of parental attitudes. The attitude here is that behavior is hereditary—that one is born with certain fixed ways of behaving. This is a point of view that parents are ready to accept because it removes the responsibility from them and places it on heredity over which they have no control.

Let us now examine the facts that should be presented to the intelligent parent. In the first place behavior is learned, not inherited. True, a child inherits certain physical characteristics such as good eyesight, height, stable glandular balance and so on, and if he happens to inherit or acquire physical defects they will most decidedly affect the process of learning behavior. But, granted a reasonably normal physical make-up, the child learns his behavior—his temper, his sulkiness, his shyness, his excitability as well as his cheerfulness, considerateness, unselfishness or poise—through just the same process by which he learns his

IN THINKING over ways and means of adjustment of the problems of children one is confronted with such questions as these:

To what extent is the behavior or the adjustment of the child within the control of parents?

To what extent do parental attitudes determine success and failure in adjustment? What constitutes success and failure in childhood? What is their importance for the future happiness of the child?

spelling or arithmetic; and the success of the result is almost, if not entirely, dependent on his parents, teachers and companions.

The law that controls learning is fundamentally simple. If the child does something and finds the doing of it satisfying he tends to do it again and through doing it he learns it. On the other hand, if

an act is annoying to him he avoids doing it and the learning of that particular act does not take place.

These laws of learning apply to all learning for all people. It follows then that it is the duty of parents to set up an environment in which the child will find satisfaction in constructive and desirable behavior, and annoyance in destructive and undesirable behavior.

Strangely enough, up to recent times, all the emphasis of parents and teachers was placed on the latter part of this law of learning. Punishment was the annoyance attached to undesirable conduct and satisfaction was not so fully recognized as conditioning learning. Unfortunately, too, punishment is not always connected in the child's mind with the act for which he is being punished. Far too often the punishment is not to him the direct result of his act, and his annoyance is not attached to the act but to the person administering the punishment.

The child is born with a certain organic inheritance and his behavior is the result of the interaction between this inheritance and the environment in which he finds himself. The all important fact for parents is that within limits they control the child's environment and that their first means of adjustment is to set up an environment in which constructive behavior may be developed.

Many parents reading this will say, "It is too late. Somewhere along the line we must already have made mistakes in the handling of our child because his behavior is already bad. What can we do to correct it?"

If the child's behavior is bad we know that it is so because of continued failure to make a satisfactory adjustment. We know he is getting a certain satisfaction out of his "bad" behavior and we must find out why this behavior is satisfying to him at this particular time.

No matter how skilful the expert may be, or how valuable his advice, the success of the treatment of young children rests with the parents. While success depends upon the intelligence of the parents to a great degree, it depends even more upon their emotional attitudes.

To what extent do parental attitudes determine success and failure in adjustment?

The parent has probably already said to us, "He is like his father (or mother)" or "He is like my mother-in-law" or "I really can't blame him, I had the same difficulty myself and have not entirely overcome it."

Here we see that it is not entirely the parent's intellectual belief in heredity but his or her own emotional problems that have entered in. Even the most intelligent parents are controlled in these matters far more by their emotional attitudes than by their intellectual belief.

One parent either wants the child to be like the other parent or is afraid he will be. He may see in the child the undesirable act of some other relative, or, far more likely, may without realizing it see his own behavior problems developing in his child. It is often this behavior so like his own that causes him anxiety. The anxiety or annoyance which the parent shows under these circumstances may be a source of satisfaction to the child. It often means to the child that he is now getting the full parental attention, and that, in itself, may be highly satisfying.

We must not overlook the fact that parents tend to show pleasure over their own traits which they consider desirable and which they see developing in their children. Their pleasure is satisfying to the child and thus the trait is learned.

Within the past few weeks a very anxious father came to see the author about one of his boys. This boy is subject to violent fits of temper in which he destroys property and on many occasions he has hurt his mother physically. He does excellent school work, is well behaved in school and has never been considered a problem by his teachers. He is eleven, the older of two boys. The younger child is seven. On questioning the father it was found that this older boy was a long wished for baby born several years after marriage. During the first four years of life he received a great deal of attention. At the time of the second child's birth the mother was desperately ill and the boy was sent to his grandmother. When he returned home his mother's health was still so poor that he and his infant brother were cared for by a nurse who was definitely more interested in the infant. This state of affairs lasted nearly two years.

The next bit of information came from both parents, but it is most interesting that the mother gave it without being asked. She said that she is very tidy and that disorder disturbs her extremely. She was delighted with the fact that her second child showed a decided tendency to be tidy and that as soon as he could walk he would attempt to tidy the room. The examples of his being like her did not end here. To her he is almost the perfect child and she seems quite unaware of the number of times that she praises Tom either to or in the presence of her older boy. She also forgets how often she tells her older boy that he must give in because his brother is younger and does not understand.

There is not space for the whole story of this case but this much of it illustrates our point. The older boy, Bill, was suddenly made aware at the age of four of a great change in his situation in the family. His security in the love and attention of his mother was suddenly shaken. At this time he was given every reason to be jealous of his little brother. At the age of eleven he explained to the author very seriously that his brother's birth had caused his mother's ill health. In the same conversation he explained that his mother is not well and becomes excited easily.

In this family situation we get a very vivid picture of the operation of the process of learning. With Tom we find that his mother's approval and pleasure are attached to nearly everything that he does. He is her "good boy" and he tends to repeat the acts that bring these satisfying results. Bill on the other hand has been given every reason to resent his little brother and his mother has attached little importance to his real successes which have been for the most part along the line of his school work and in camp. He turns to his teachers for approval. It would be unfair to say that his mother entirely fails to approve his success in school, but she has given it little emphasis. She claims that she does not want him to become conceited or develop too great a spirit of competition. She fails to recognize how much annoyance she has attached to some of his behavior at home and she wonders why he does not confide in her about his successes outside of the home.

As far as his mother is concerned, what satisfaction is Bill getting? The satisfaction of seeing her excited. Since he does not gain her attention by gaining her approval he will get it by gaining her disapproval. And during the excitement that follows his untidiness or teasing his brother he holds the center of the stage.

What advice can we give the mother? Intellectually we can advise her to shift the emphasis. We can tell her to select good things in Bill to praise and to ignore other things as far as possible. And intel-

lectually she may follow this advice but no success will come of it until she is ready and willing to examine her own emotional patterns. The question for her is, "Why do I get such great satisfaction out of having one of my children duplicate my behavior patterns so completely, and why do I become annoyed over behavior patterns unlike my own which are shown by my other child?"

To help her to understand this we must go back into her history and see why she reacts as she does, and we must treat her personality problem with the same consideration and objectivity that we show toward the child's.

In summing up the answer to this problem we may say that complete success in the adjustment of young children can be effected only when the parents are able to take an objective attitude toward the rôle that they are playing in the development of the child's personality.

What constitutes success and failure in childhood? What is their importance for the future happiness of the child?

Throughout all of life, as well as during childhood, success and failure are attached to two great needs: the need to achieve and the need for affection and social security. Success brings with it satisfaction, and therefore if the child is to become a well adjusted, well poised individual, he must have his fair share of it. He must feel secure in his ability to do a certain number of things reasonably well and a few things, even very small things, a little better than his contemporaries. And he must feel secure in his ability to gain the approval and affection of the people around him. Thus fortified he is able to face a certain amount of failure and make constructive use of it.

So-called bad behavior may be looked upon as a symptom of failure on the part of the child to achieve or to establish relations with other people. It is most likely to indicate failure in both since these two needs are so interrelated that they cannot be considered separately. Consider Bill again. In school, where he is achieving, his behavior is beyond reproach, and he has gained the approval and friendship of his teachers and comrades. He uses a teacher who approves of him as a mother substitute. At home he has failed and unconsciously, seeking adjustment, he shifts his satisfaction to punishing his mother.

Again we find the parents faced with the problem of setting up an environment conducive to achievement and to satisfying social relations. In the first place this environment should not be too elaborate, not too full of ready-made toys nor too carefully super-

vised by a mother or nurse overanxious to assist when the child meets a difficulty. It should be simple, offering material for the child to use with the minimum of adult assistance. The environment should confront the child with challenging situations. A toy horse suggests the need of a stable and he is encouraged to make one no matter how crude it may be. Later a real rabbit suggests the need of a rabbit hutch, and the child's increased needs coupled with his increased ability to meet them are an indication to his parents of his advancing maturity.

Above all he should choose his own activities, as far as possible, and plan them and determine their values. In all of this the parent is a guide, with increasing maturity and independence for the child as his aim, rather than a dictator trying to determine the child's future in terms of his own emotional biases and needs. Instead of teaching him to depend on the parent's approval or disapproval to determine the "worthwhileness" of the things he does, the parent can set the stage so that through satisfaction the child's ability to judge his own accomplishments will increase. The child who is hampered by his parents' choices and made dependent on their approval can never make a completely successful adjustment. In adult life we may find him a nervous invalid, but if his adjustment is relatively better than that we will find him one of those dependent souls, always looking for approval, always dependent on wife or husband or a superior in his business or profession.

This is all very closely tied up with the child's social relationships. In the process of maturing the child needs the association with and judgment of his contemporaries. He needs the security of parental love, but his friendships are one step toward maturity. The parents who can supply the child with sufficient security in family love, at the same time helping him to achieve relative independence, are to be congratulated. These parents must be willing to see new friendships formed, new loves developed, and in thus preventing fixations on themselves or on any one else along the line of love development they are preparing the way for a mature adjustment.

The dependent people, lacking in initiative or shifting their satisfactions to destructive things, are life's failures. The individuals who can face reality squarely and with initiative, who can depend on their own judgment and still remain sensitive to social needs, who are able to develop mature friendships and lead a normal love life are the world's well adjusted successful people.

Is Happiness Worth Cultivating?

By E. R. JOHNSTONE

*From early childhood a sound ideal of happiness is one essential
in striking a satisfactory balance with life.*

WHAT is it that you and I desire more than anything else? What is it that our children are constantly seeking? The answer is so simple it is almost trite. It is, in the last analysis, happiness of one sort or another. Why then shall we not think more in terms of the child's happiness as suited to his capacity?

For more than thirty years I have been dealing with poorly adjusted children; the mentally deficient, the disturbed and the delinquent-defective. The weaknesses of these children seem like the exaggeration of the weaknesses of normal children. Their mental processes move slowly. It takes two or five or ten years for our subnormal child to accomplish what your child will do in one. Like a slow motion picture their lives pass before us. All of this gives us unusual opportunities for study, and each year we are more convinced of the imperative need for the scientific understanding of all children. There must be investigation and research. We must have the physical norms and the measuring scales for intelligence and the behavior score cards and all such aids that the child study laboratories are producing and the clinics are using.

But in addition to all of these we must keep before us those simple and direct contacts that lead to mutual understanding and therefore mutual happiness for the child and his parents and teachers. The scientist is about to step over from the physical and mental and social fields into the spiritual realm and when he does he will lay emphasis upon those commonplace things that make for happiness.

The following paragraphs are necessarily brief. Each might be made the subject of an essay. If you will elaborate them in the light of your own experiences, if you will put them into practice the next time you feel that your child misunderstands, you will discover for yourself that they are of prime importance in the relationship of adults to children.

Childhood is play time, and the spirit of play must be carried into all of its activities—eating, picking up toys, learning to be polite. The play spirit can be carried far into the classroom to the advantage of child and teacher.

When your child does not comprehend remember that our words are big, our sentences are involved, we frequently speak hurriedly. It is easy to bewilder a child. Even physically he lives in a world primarily intended for adults. Door knobs and chairs are relatively quite high, and objects on the top of tables and book shelves are distorted in size and shape.

When we think our child is naughty we must ask if he is sick or in pain or suffering from some discomfort. Perhaps he is merely neglected and lonesome. Most children want to do right but they crave notice and if they cannot get attention by being good they may at least achieve notoriety by misbehavior. Remember there are no "bad" children even though children sometimes do "bad" things.

The things that we expect of our children should be those that we may be reasonably certain they can do. They should be helped to experience success—at least enough success to keep the scales balanced in their favor. It is all too easy to get the habit of failure. We must mark their efforts in terms of success. "Seven out of ten right" instead of "three wrong" is the way to express it. The child who is one of the tail-enders in an advanced group is in an atmosphere of constant discouragement and should be transferred to where he may at least occasionally find the joy and inspiration of leadership.

Let us remember that children have ideals very early. They are hero worshipers. Mother, father, teacher in the early days represent these ideals. How are they lost? We make promises that we do not keep. We say those things which are not true. We are often unfair. When our child misunderstands us we usually consider that it is the child who is stupid. Sometimes we say so.

Shall we not form some of the habits we should like our children to have—smiling for example? What a wonderful thing it is if you have a smile that comes easily. A little boy once said to me, "Our teacher smiled today." Is it possible that any child might find your smile so rare that he would comment about it?

If you wish your child to do nice things you must expect nice things. The spirit of happy childhood

requires an atmosphere of encouragement rather than discouragement. This will be provided if you have the habit of saying "do" rather than "don't."

Is your voice pleasant, sympathetic; has it a comforting tone in time of trouble? Would you like to have a third party hear you? Scolding arouses opposition and resentment. Praise brings cooperation, a desire to please, a wish to accomplish even better things. So be prompt and generous.

Visit your child, instead of inspecting him. The inspector is one who looks for flaws, errors, mistakes. The visitor looks for beauty, accomplishment, happiness. Whenever you speak to your child and he

hears you, or look at your child and he sees you, or even stand beside your child and he is conscious of your presence, you have either visited him or you have inspected him. You must make the choice.

In this training school of more than five hundred girls and boys who came to us with poor judgment, exaggerated ego, distorted ideals and poor training we have come to realize that a definite consciousness of the need of "happiness first" is a great help. Of course this implies that the adult has himself achieved a mature ideal of happiness as an end result rather than the outcome of a single, specific act. And those who most continuously put this idea into practice are the ones who are most successful with children.

Individual Differences Among Children in the First Two Years of Life

By CHARLOTTE BÜHLER and HILDEGARD HETZER

Dr. Bühler has for several years conducted a series of unusually significant experiments at the University of Vienna. Some of her findings, of special interest in this connection, are here reported.

IN OUR three years of practice in consultation with parents and in testing over 800 children up to the age of two years, we have come to the conclusion that individual differences are to be found as early as the fourth month, and further, that our tests* are capable of determining exactly the nature and characteristics of the individual differences at this age. The performances treated by these tests are important to the child for mastering his life situations—such as the movements affecting bodily control, the reactions to other people in various social situations, the manipulation of materials and objects in the environment, the child's ability to learn in concrete situations, his imitativeness, the intellectual solution of problems and his speech control. Definite reactions have been determined for each month of the first year and each quarter of the second year. Individual differences within the range of normal development can be accounted for by the fact that a child's performances, when compared with the level which exactly corresponds to his age, tend to be higher along some lines and lower along others. The sign of normality is a balancing of the pluses and minuses toward the

mode, whereas abnormality is backwardness in all performances.

Organizing our material, we find that there are already at this early age four groups of cases coming up for consultation that can be distinguished and specifically treated.

The first group of individual differences is to be found among children who are normal in the sense described above. These are apt to appear as problem children to their parents when the plus and minus of their performances show a rather great fluctuation above and below their age norms. The following cases will serve as an example.

Walter U., 6 months old, is physically very weak. He is not yet able to sit without support; he grasps at objects awkwardly and only with both hands. When a napkin is placed over his head, he cannot free himself from it. In spite of this bodily clumsiness the remainder of his performances is very good. He differentiates with certainty between the angry and friendly talk of adults, reacting disconsolately and happily, respectively. He looks after a disappearing object for almost a minute, which is an extraordinary memory performance for this age. When offered three toys he chooses the same one again and again. This is ordinarily first observed in children of 8 months, the 6 month child usually grasping blindly for any of the objects offered.

* Hetzer, H., and Wolf, K. *Z. Psychol.*, 1928, cvii, pp. 62-103.

A case quite different is that of Hella A., also 6 months old. She can sit by herself and can, while sitting, free herself from a napkin laid on her head. Hella also moves about from one place to another when she wants to get hold of a toy and grasps firmly with one hand. If a toy is withdrawn out of her sight, she looks after it at the most for only half a minute. She smiles in a friendly way irrespective of whether one looks at her angrily or pleasantly, and is hence evidently unable to understand facial expressions. She is also unable to imitate movements shown to her (such as sticking out her tongue or moving her head) which the average 4 and 5 month child accomplishes.

HELPING THE PARENT HELP THE CHILD

In these and similar cases parents tend to see only the insufficient performances along one line and fail to take into account the superior performances along others. The consultation then consists in pointing out the balance, and in showing the parents how they can strengthen the weaker side.

In the second group of cases the children present problems due to a special factor. All their abilities are normal, but their responsiveness to any sort of stimulation is so weak that they appear retarded, and with lack of reaction practice may actually become so.

Ilse K., aged 14 months, represents the average performance level although all her reactions are very slow. The examiner had to go to great pains to direct Ilse's attention to the proffered objects. For example, a ball which was later hidden and at which Ilse gazed very indifferently, had to be moved about before her eyes for five minutes until she reached for it. The examiner's command "give me that" had to be repeated six times before Ilse handed over the doll which she was holding in her hand.

In such a case our advice takes the form of showing the parent how the child's activity can be stimulated and his interests increased. One should see to it that the child is always occupied and does not sit idly for any length of time just staring into space. It is not sufficient simply to set down a toy beside the child. One must play with the toy until the child gets interested in it and begins to play with it himself and one should try in every way to draw the child's attention to his environment.

TWO EXTREMES

In the third group of children the deviation from the normal behavior of their age is due not to inadequacies in the child's make-up but to faults in the environment. This group comprises all the children who are not provided with the material for manipulation necessary at each stage of development of functional and reactional activity. Children who have too little opportunity to come in contact with people are also in this group. It is not at all true that these are always poor children whose parents cannot afford to furnish them with materials and toys. They are frequently rich children who are oversupplied with the

wrong sort of materials, with toys of too complicated a nature.

Anna K., aged 18 months, is a very poor child, up until now quite uncared for, whose life has been spent in a baby carriage in a dark room. She is afraid of every toy offered to her; she does not dare to touch it and pulls her hand back timidly. With much effort the examiner succeeded in overcoming this fear. Anna grasped the toy, but did not know what to do with it, any more than a 6 month child who waves his toys about. Anna does not yet know that she can build a tower out of blocks, beat on the drum, roll the ball. She knows how to proceed only in the case of eatable objects. She reaches for these and puts them in her mouth. In her contacts with people she is equally awkward. She does not talk and cannot understand the simplest spoken commands. A few weeks' intensive preoccupation with Anna, however, revealed her backwardness to be the result of environment factors wholly. In this short time she very nearly caught up with the other children of her age.

A similar case is that of Peter W., aged 16 months, who came from a well-to-do family, and whose mother was bringing him up with exaggerated care. She was only too anxious to have a great big son, and gave Peter every conceivable toy, a train to wind up and a gramophone. All the simple, everyday objects from which a child acquires his experience were missing from his nursery. Peter never had a box, a piece of paper or a rag in his hand. When he attempted to do with his mechanical toys what it is natural for a one-year-old to do—namely, move and knock them about—he was shown just what one was supposed to do with a train. In this way Peter became as clumsy in his handling of objects as a child of 8 months or younger. He was never allowed to touch anything and never learned what he necessarily would have if given simple boxes, blocks and the like.

MONTHLY SCALE OF NORMAL NEEDS

Instructions to the parents in such cases aim to explain what the child needs as material for his activity, and why he needs experience with such material. The child of from 3 to 5 months should have the opportunity of seeing colors in his environment; the 5 month child in any circumstances needs to have a rattle and other objects to grasp at; the 9 month child, things that can be fitted into each other, such as hollow blocks or boxes; the child of a year and a quarter, a picture book to look at; and the two-year-old child, a doll to play with.

Only the fourth and rather small group consists of really pathological cases, in which the child is actually to be designated as backward. In so far as this pathological backwardness is a matter of very low learning ability, we were able to observe it as early as the middle of the first year. Intellectual disorders cannot be recognized before the end of the first year.

Karl P., 7 months old, was big and heavy for his age. Testing showed general retardation, with particularly poor memory performances. When an object was shown and then withdrawn, Karl did not follow with his glance for longer than two seconds. He was also unable to imitate the simplest movement made before him. He did not differentiate between totally strange and familiar stimuli—which may be expected of a 9 month child. At the age of a

year and a half, unable to observe and imitate and hence incapable of learning, Karl is not much further developed than at the age of 7 months.

In the case of Trude I., whom we were able to test several times, no retardation was noticeable until the 9th month. From that time on she appeared markedly backward in all instances where intelligence was required and the conception of some sort of connection was involved, such as fitting one box into another, or procuring an object by means of a string. Since she is capable of learning, however, her case is much more hopeful than Karl's.

And so we see that we can determine with some precision the individual difference significant for the development and proper treatment of the child at a very early age. As modern psychotherapy is showing the successful or unsuccessful handling of life situations to be responsible for character traits, the diagnoses of our tests and consultations are coming to supply a basis most favorable for character building.

Success and Failure in Childhood; the Parents' Rôle

By RUTH BRICKNER

The parent, because of his strategic position in relation to the child, can, in some measure, assist him in meeting life situations with success and satisfaction.

SUCCESS and failure—words a good deal over-worked today—should never be applied to children without being qualified and defined. We ordinarily use them in a tone of finality which is itself deceptive; success and failure differ widely according to the standards of particular civilizations and social classes.

Our habitual concept of success is that of some specific and distant goal to be achieved, and toward which every effort must be bent. When this is imposed upon the child, it becomes a common source of that sense of failure which is so devitalizing an experience to him. We must first remake our definition of success if we wish to eliminate that sense of failure.

What is success in childhood, or adulthood, for that matter? In mental hygiene terms one might define the successful life as the achievement of a constructive adjustment to the environment combined with satisfaction within the individual. We must remind ourselves, however, that adjustment is itself a fluid relationship—never static. A changing world requires continuity of adjustment. This is of course especially true of childhood where the interrelated factors of growth are added to those of the constantly altering environment.

The baby of eleven months who first fits one hollow block into another has achieved an acceptable measure of success. The tone deaf ten-year-old who has learned to "carry a tune" just barely well enough not to spoil the group song has certainly achieved success for him.

We see immediately that the same kind of success does not apply to each individual, for success in each case depends upon the peculiar interrelation of all the factors innate and environmental which render each person distinct.

Thus success to us is no longer to be considered a static thing but a continuing and progressive matter. We insist that all phases of our lives, including those of childhood, be filled with opportunities for satisfying accomplishment and adjustment. In order to achieve this, parents must scrutinize continually the influences both social and personal which surround their children; for example there are certain fashions of behavior prevailing in this or that community to which many parents bent on social success expect their children to conform. To excel at games, to romp on the beach wearing brief sunsuits, to associate exclusively with children of the "best" families—these are some of the artificial demands imposed by adults under the influence of social pressure. The child who has no special athletic skill, who has developed a reticence about semiclad beach dress, who prefers a child of another set, is very disturbing to such a parent. Community customs sometimes become rigid enough to weigh heavily on the child who is less able or less willing to conform. He may be burdened with a sense of failure developed because parents see him merely as an irregularity in the prevailing social pattern, rather than as an individual.

There are non-conforming parents, too, desirous
(Continued on page 24)

CHILD STUDY

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Editors

ZILPHA CARRUTHERS FRANKLIN SIDONIE MATSNER GRUENBERG
JOSETTE FRANK MARION M. MILLER
CÉCILE PILPEL
CORA FLUSSER, *Business Manager*

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Editorial

The increased interest in the total personality of the child, "the whole child" as the popular phrase is, has focused the attention on the many individual contributing factors which go to make up that total personality. We are at present very conscious of the fact that in the study of individual differences the whole is greater than the sum of all its parts.

The parent looks to specialists in a variety of fields to acquaint him with measures of differences, and it is through a recognition and understanding of these variations that he arrives at an estimate of the child's capabilities and potentialities. Granted that the goal of child training is the child's success in life, if we interpret success as adjustment on the highest possible social and personal level commensurate with the child's endowment, the study of the individual becomes of greatest importance. The study of individual differences along physical lines has been standardized and is helpful in gauging the needs of the child. Much attention has been paid to norms of physical development. The work which has been carried on at the University of Iowa, in Toronto and at Columbia, has put at the command of the parent reliable information which readily demonstrates the physical needs of each child in the light of curves of developmental norms. Of late years there has been similar helpful material along the lines of mental development, and, although parents have come to realize that it is not within their power to "add a cubit to the stature" of their children either in-

tellectually or physically, nevertheless there are in many cases great discrepancies between the possibilities inherent in the individual and his achievement. Through wise understanding and guidance, the child's achievement can more nearly approximate his endowment.

The exact study of specific traits, physical, intellectual or emotional, must necessarily remain the work of the specialist. It remains for the parent to assimilate these scientific findings, to apply them in the case of his own children and to shape his procedure in the light of his increased understanding. The parent who has truly benefited by new contributions will be wary of setting up before the child a model for him to emulate whether that model be an actual one in the form of an illustrious parent or more remote ancestor, or whether it be a generalized ideal of desirable traits and achievement. His problem rather will be to accept the child as he finds him, to learn in every possible way what the child represents in the way of material to work with, and to devise the wisest possible ways of developing this material to the best possible advantage.

Contributors to This Issue

LAWSON G. LOWREY, M.D.
Director, Institute for Child Guidance,
New York City

JEANETTE REGENSBURG
Instructor, The New York School of Social
Work

CAROLINE B. ZACHRY
Director, Department of Psychology and
Mental Hygiene, State Teachers College,
Upper Montclair, N. J.

E. R. JOHNSTONE
Director, Training School at Vineland, N. J.

CHARLOTTE BÜHLER
Privatdozent, Ästhetik und Jugendpsychologie,
University of Vienna

HILDEGARD HETZER
Psychologist, University of Vienna

RUTH BRICKNER, M.D.
Psychiatrist, Consultation Service, Child Study
Association of America

News and Notes

THREE REGIONAL CONFERENCES

In order to make the Annual Conference Program more readily available to members and friends in all parts of New York City, the Child Study Association has planned to hold the following three regional conferences on parent education:

Bronx—Wednesday, October 16

 Hotel Concourse Plaza

Brooklyn—Tuesday, October 22

 Leverich Towers

Manhattan—Tuesday, October 29

 Hotel Pennsylvania

Prominent leaders in the fields of child development and parent education will speak on:

The Parent Education Movement

The Mental Hygiene of Family Relationships

Health and Physical Development

The Child Study Association and the Parent Education Movement

Research in Child Development

Further information about these conferences may be obtained from Headquarters, 54 West 74th Street, New York City.

An English conference which promises far-reaching results in the field of parent education was called by the

London Conference on Parent Education Home and School Council in London on June 28 and 29. This Council, composed of representatives of some forty organizations interested in parent

education and parent-teacher cooperation will be the first organization in England to formulate a definite parent education program. In the absence of Mrs. Beatrice Ensor, Director of the International League for New Education, Dr. Basil Yeaxlee, Chairman of the Council, presided at the three meetings.

It is of particular significance that leaders in the field of parent education in America were called upon for accounts of their organizations, programs, methods and investigations as a guiding basis for the work of the Council. Mrs. A. H. Reeves, President of the International Federation of Home and School, told of the development and organization of the Na-

tional Congress of Parents and Teachers, explaining that the "movement encourages people to do the thing themselves. . . . It brings education in regard to child welfare down to the individual."

The history and methods of the Child Study Association of America were traced by Mrs. Howard S. Gans, its President. For forty years, the Association's fundamental objectives have remained the same: to bring the scientific knowledge of child development and psychology to parents. "Because of the rapid growth of the parent education movement," continued Mrs. Gans, "we are endeavoring more and more to turn our own efforts toward the development of material and leaders, rather than to the formation of large numbers of study groups."

Mrs. Sidonie M. Gruenberg, Director of the Child Study Association of America, spoke of the new world which confronts the parent. "Newer knowledge of child health and child psychology necessitates a new technique on the part of parents. We have learned that discipline is no longer an end but a means to an end. The modern parent," concluded Mrs. Gruenberg, "is a coordinator, not a policeman. He holds the strategic position in that, although other agencies function for a while, the parent remains the only continuous factor in the child's life."

A survey of the scope and activities of parent education agencies and the work being done in child development research centers in America was presented by Miss Edna Noble White, Chairman of the National Council for Parent Education, and Director of the Merrill-Palmer School in Detroit.

Among the English speakers who stressed the need for parent education were Mr. Fortune Fowler, headmaster of the Rosendale Road School, Dr. Hamilton Pearson of the Tavistock Clinic, and Dr. R. H. Crowley, senior medical officer of the Board of Education.

On her return from London, Mrs. Gans commented on the Conference:

"One of the most interesting things about the Conference was the fact that included in the audience were representatives from all parts of the British Dominion, who came to hear about parent education. After the meetings, representatives from East India, New Zealand and Australia came to us (Mrs. Gans and Mrs. Gruenberg) to ask what advice and assistance the Child Study Association could give them in starting child study groups in their parts of the world.

"Although the Parents Association has been doing splendid work for several years in bringing the 'public schools' and parents into closer contact and understanding, and the Child Study Society of London has been working on the problems of childhood with and for teachers, the Home and School Council is the

first movement in England to aim toward parent education as we know it in America."

The meetings of the World Federation of Education Associations at Geneva, Switzerland, and the New Education Fellowship at Elsinore, Denmark, brought out even more clearly the wide scope which the parent education movement is today assuming throughout the world. Both of these conferences, at which Mrs. Sidonie M. Gruenberg represented the Child Study Association, will be fully reported in the November CHILD STUDY.

Study Groups Study group sessions will begin the week of November 11 at the Headquarters of the Child Study Association of America. There will be eleven groups this season under trained leadership, covering the following subjects:

Infancy, Tuesdays at 11:00 a.m. Leader: Dr. Augusta Alpert

The Toddler, Mondays at 11:00 a.m. Leader: Mrs. Marion M. Miller

Early Childhood, Mondays at 2:30 p.m. Leader: Mrs. Anna W. M. Wolf

School and Home, Mondays at 11:00 a.m. Leader: Mrs. Ethel H. Bliss

The Child from Six to Twelve, Wednesdays at 11:00 a.m. Leader: Mrs. Sidonie M. Gruenberg

Adolescence, Fridays at 11:00 a.m. Leader: Mrs. Cécile Pilpel

Parents and Sex Education, Mondays at 2:30 p.m. Leader: Mrs. Cécile Pilpel

Family Relationships, Tuesdays at 11:00 a.m. Leader: Mrs. Anna W. M. Wolf

Fundamentals in Child Study, Wednesdays at 8:15 p.m. Leader: Miss Margaret J. Quilliard

Grandmothers Group, Wednesdays at 2:30 p.m. Leader: Mrs. Cécile Pilpel

Leaders Group, Thursdays at 11:00 a.m. Leaders: Staff of the Association

Members may register at the office on November 6, 7 and 8, or by mail. Further information concerning these groups may be obtained from the Study Group Department.

Mrs. Ethel H. Bliss, who has been for many years on the research and teaching staff of the Lincoln School, Teachers College, Columbia University, has joined the staff of the Child Study Association.

Creative Education for the adolescent is the subject to be presented at the Sixth Annual October Conference of the Teachers Union and the Teachers Union Auxiliary.

Three-Day Conference on Problems of Adolescence

The Conference will be held from Friday evening, October 4, through Sunday, October 6, at the Hudson Guild Farm, Netcong, N. J.

"The Range of Present Opportunity for Experimentation and for Creative Activity in Secondary Education," "The Problems of the Academic Curriculum for Junior and Senior High Schools, and the Social Pressure to Educate Everyone" and the "Psychological and Physical Development of the Adolescent" will be discussed at the individual sessions. The round tables on "Phases of the Adolescent Problem" will afford additional interest.

Among the many prominent speakers will be: Dr. John R. Clark, Dr. Lucy Wilson, Dr. Benjamin C. Gruenberg, Dr. Don H. Taylor, Mrs. Sidonie M. Gruenberg, Prof. F. G. Bonser, Dr. Elias Lieberman, Dr. Bruce B. Robinson and Dr. John Lovejoy Elliott.

Additional information may be obtained from the Teachers Union Auxiliary at 70 Fifth Avenue, New York City.

The School Nature League is arranging The American Institute Children's Fair which will be held on

Children's Fair October 11 to 17 at The American Museum of Natural History. Entries,

including home-made animal cages and terrariums, astronomy, geology, mounted and living insects, may be made by any resident of New York City who is eighteen years of age or under and by any New York City public or private school, park or organization. The purpose of the Fair is to foster an interest in agriculture, gardening, nature study and conservation.

A conference, organized by Miss Margaret J. Quilliard, Director of Field Work of the Child Study Association, was held on the evening

Child Study in Negro Communities of May 28, under the joint auspices of the Association and the North Harlem Child Study Committee.

A gratifying response was shown, not only by religious and social workers, but also by parents and teachers. Mrs. Sidonie M. Gruenberg, Director of the Child Study Association, and Mrs. Cécile Pilpel, Director of Study Groups, spoke of the growth of interest in child study throughout the country and the possibilities and functions of the study group. Dr. Alonzo deG. Smith, Chairman of the North Harlem Child Study Committee, pointed out the need of child study for all people who work

with children. An animated discussion of community needs for child study and of possibilities for meeting these needs was conducted by Mr. Edward H. Wilson, Jr.

As a result of the interest stimulated by this conference, a permanent Inter-Community Negro Child Study Committee was formed on June 13, composed of representatives from five neighboring communities. The Child Study Association will be represented on this committee by Miss Quilliard.

The thirteenth season of the Summer Play Schools ended on August 30. Under the supervision of the

Summer Play Schools Child Study Association and with the cooperation of the Board of Education, twenty-one organizations conducted Summer Play Schools in New York City. Play Schools were also conducted in Cleveland and Detroit. Away from the noise and dangers of hot city streets, approximately two thousand children enjoyed the opportunities for wholesome recreation and constructive, health-giving activities in these schools during July and August.

With the aim of extending these benefits into the home, eighteen Play Schools held mothers' meetings regularly through the summer where the best scientific knowledge of child care and training was interpreted by trained leaders from the Association. Many of these groups will continue to meet during the winter.

The Extension Division of the University of North Carolina and the North Carolina State Congress of

Parent-Teacher Institute at North Carolina Parents and Teachers combined to hold a six-day Institute for parents and teachers at Chapel Hill, North Carolina. The Institute, which

lasted from August 5 through August 10, was attended by delegates from all over the state. The program was divided between Methods of Organization of Parent-Teacher Groups and Parent Education. Mrs. Marion M. Miller, of the Child Study Association, conducted the class on parent education problems. The need for further emphasis on the parent education part of the program was so strongly felt that the Institute for 1930 will devote a much greater portion of its program to this subject.

A conference to discuss plans for leadership training courses in Ohio will be held sometime in October.

Parent Education in Ohio A committee of the Ohio Congress of Parents and Teachers, composed of Dr. Jessie A. Charters, chairman, Dr. Ada Hart Arlitt and Dr. Garry Cleveland Myers, have invited representatives of each college, university and normal school in the State. Only those who will take active

part in establishing the courses in Ohio will participate in the making of plans for the coming year.

The State Congress of Parents and Teachers has recently organized the Oklahoma Bureau of Child

Oklahoma Bureau of Child Development Development and Parent Education. The Bureau will sponsor training for parents by state-wide, district and county public programs, by supporting parent education classes conducted under the State Home Economics program, and by extension and correspondence courses.



Announcements

The Third Northwest Conference for Child Health and Parent Education will be held September 30 to October 5, at Minneapolis, Minnesota. Mrs. Sidonie Matsner Gruenberg will speak at the Thursday morning session of the Conference on "Community Standards and Their Influence on Character."

On August 26, 1929, the United Parents Association began its winter work. Maria Lambin, former executive secretary, and Alexander Williams, formerly publicity manager, have resigned and been made members of the executive committee. In their places the committee has elected Theodore Wesley Darnell, executive secretary, and Reuben Peterson, publicity director.

Miss May E. Peabody, formerly Principal of the Roosevelt School, Englewood, N. J., was appointed assistant to Dr. Ruth Andrus, director of the Division of Child Development and Parental Education in New York State.

A Child Development Research Center including a Laboratory and Experimental School will be opened this year at the University of Michigan with Williard C. Olsen as director. Children from the nursery school age up to junior high school will be accepted.

The name of "Children, The Parents' Magazine" has been changed to "The Parents' Magazine." The policy of the publication will remain unchanged.

The hour of the Friday radio talks, given by the Child Study Association over Station WEAF, has been changed from 1:45 to 2:15 p.m. Advance programs will be sent upon request.

CHILD STUDY for November

Habits—What Are They?

Parents' Questions

A discussion of the individual differences of children and the problems which they raise within the family

Question: Eight-year-old Harold goes to the park to play every afternoon accompanied by his two younger brothers and their nurse. He is always a disturbing element in the play, taking the toys for himself and spoiling the other children's games. How can he be taught to get along with the other children?

Discussion: It is doubtful whether a boy of eight should be expected to go to the park with a nurse and the younger children. Under this arrangement he will inevitably feel that his needs are not being considered and that his personality is being submerged in consideration for the younger children. Unfortunately for an elder child the average nurse is more interested in the younger children and sees in the oldest only a disturber of the peace. The child will learn social adaptation from association with his contemporaries rather than by being forced constantly to consider the limitations of younger children. He should be offered other activities and companions suitable to his age and his intellectual interest.

Question: How should the jealousy of an older child toward a younger be met by the parents?

Discussion: Such jealousy usually dates back to the time when the infant first appeared, and may have become so strong that it is not easily uprooted. In this situation, everything possible must be done to bolster up the child's feeling of importance in the family constellation. The mother's attention and devotion to the older child must be reinforced after the arrival of the younger child; and the love of the older child for the younger must be established as reciprocal. We cannot wait passively for this jealousy to "blow over" of its own accord, for it seldom does and may do much harm to the child's personality and adjustment to the family group. An important point for the mother to bear in mind is that the standards in the home should be individual rather than group, and that one cannot expect the optimum output from a child for whom the standard is too high. At most schools group standards are inevitable, but at home they must always be determined by what the child can

Parents bring to study groups a wide variety of problems for which they are likely to ascribe some immediate cause but which, upon analysis, reflect the marked individual differences among the children in the family. Some of these questions, taken from the minutes of study group meetings, are printed here together with the discussion which centered about each question.

do successfully. Only so will we avoid a series of dissatisfactions that build up a feeling of failure and consequent jealousy of a more successful child. When a child shows marked resentment and dissatisfaction with his own achievement, we must provide a project for him which is within his powers, so that he may receive

the recognition that comes with success at his age level.

Question: A three-year-old boy will not play with others his own age but always seeks the society of older boys. Is there any reason to discourage this?

Discussion: It may be that he is mentally ahead of his physical age, or that the older boys flatter him with their attention. The danger is that the older boys are exploiting him—bossing him and fitting him into their play in any capacity they please—and therefore giving him no opportunity to develop initiative or his own creative activities. There is a marked difference between the normal play interests of three-year-olds and six-year-olds. A definite effort should be made, therefore, to provide this child with play materials and activities suited to his own age, as well as to bring into his play life some child or children who will be on his own level both mentally and chronologically.

Question: A child of five has been very slow in learning to dress and undress herself. She fumbles with buttons and shoe straps, and begs to be helped with the simplest processes. Her sister, almost two years younger, is already much better able to dress and undress without help, and much quicker in doing so. Should the older child be helped by adults, or should she be left to dress herself, no matter how long she takes?

Discussion: The older child may be of the deliberate, slow motion type by whom even simple processes must be worked out slowly. In this case she should be given plenty of time to work out the dressing process in her own way, and when hurrying is necessary, she should be helped with as little discussion as possible. Perhaps she simply lacks agility of hands and fingers, so that buttoning and unbutton-

ing are really difficult for her. If this is so, she can be helped to develop greater skill in the use of her hands through well planned play activities and materials. On the other hand, her failure to dress herself may indicate no real inaptitude, but rather an emotional difficulty—a desire to remain a baby competing with her younger sister for adult attention. If this is the basis of the difficulty it would be well to help her find more legitimate ways of winning attention for herself and to give her generous praise whenever possible. In any case nothing is to be gained by nagging, and constant comparison with the younger child will only emphasize the difficulty.

Question: How far should a mother give her young child help with a self-chosen project in order to save him from a sense of failure and give him confidence in his own powers?

Discussion: When the child has chosen a task which is beyond his powers, it is sometimes possible to persuade him to put the project aside until a time when he is older. But where this is not practical the mother's wisest course is to help the child use his powers to their fullest capacity on the project rather than to take it out of his hands and complete it for him. Very often it is possible to avoid such situations by diverting the child before the project is well under way, and guiding him into attempting something that is within his powers. In any case, it is unwise to "put him on his mettle" to finish what he has started, if it is obviously too difficult for him.

Question: How far must we consider so-called sex differences of emotional and intellectual nature in training boys and girls?

Discussion: There are not at present enough known facts for any positive statement of what is traditional and what is constitutional in the apparent sex differences. There is no doubt that certain differences are constitutional, but it is wise to guard against stressing these unduly as well as against classifying all boys as "boys" and girls as "girls" for the purposes of education and guidance. There are many differences between the members of one sex as well as between the sexes. Here, as elsewhere, we must be guided by individual tastes and capacities rather than by traditional ideas about them.

Question: A boy of sixteen, whose brother and sister are at college, is showing no interest in his high school work and is anxious to transfer from a college preparatory to a vocational course. He is interested in training to become an expert plumber and steam-fitter. His father is insisting that this son should follow the family tradition which calls for higher education and professional standing. As the boy's work in high school grows worse and worse his relations with

his father grow more and more strained. What may be done to relieve such a situation?

Discussion: This father must be brought to realize the futility of laying down a fixed pattern of education alike for all his children. He is projecting his own ambition and family pride on this son whose capacities and preferences seem to lead him in entirely different directions. The very fact of the father's insistence upon his preconceived standard may be what is driving the boy to subconscious revolt, and his perverse vocational choice may be nothing more than a symptom of his resistance. If the father can be brought to see the need for respecting the boy's own tastes and ambitions, probably the wisest course would be to help the boy try out various types of interests, rather than to let him specialize prematurely on one vocational level and thereby, as it were, "burn his bridges behind him." He should have sympathetic help and ample opportunity to discover himself in relation to his true capacities and his future vocation.

Question: How can a parent help to moderate an overwhelming sense of superiority in a girl who, because of her charm and ability, has met nothing but success?

Discussion: While it is certainly not desirable to disparage or discourage her special gifts, nevertheless such a child needs to be helped to a proper evaluation of her achievements in their relation to life values. It might be well to throw her into situations which call for fundamental contributions other than her special charm and talents, situations in which her particular abilities are of little significance. She should also be encouraged to measure her abilities against standards higher than those she has always known. It is important that we guard against the temptation to exploit the special abilities of a gifted child, whether at home or at school.

Question: How far should a parent insist upon special training for a child who has marked talent in a definite direction, but who resists every effort to cultivate that talent?

Discussion: It is important to discover the source of the child's resistance. A child who is especially gifted is sometimes also especially sensitive, and rebels against being exploited or singled out for attention. Then, too, especially at adolescence, a child often resents a course of training that is "different" than that of other children. He longs to be "like everybody else." Another possible factor may be found in the setting up of too high a standard of perfection in the special field of endeavor—a measure against which the immature accomplishments of the child appear to him discouraging. In any case coercion will only deepen the distaste and perhaps cause other diffi-

culties of adjustment. It would be better to put the emphasis, for a time, upon other phases of the child's education, and trust to a dominant interest or talent to reassert itself, if the environment is made favorable and kept free from emotional pressure.

Question: Where there are two children in the family within two or three years of the same age, is it advisable to dress them alike in order that there be no question of favoritism?

Discussion: No two human beings, even twins, are really so much alike that they should be treated in just the same way. To dress two children alike tends to cloud their individualities and is likely to cause friction rather than to avoid it.

Question: John was graduated from the elementary school at an early age and with high honor and was a great favorite with his teacher. When his younger brother was promoted to her class, the teacher confidently expected the same performance from him. The mother asks whether difficulties are not likely in this situation?

Discussion: Children in the same family often differ markedly not only in physical development and intellectual capacity, but also in respect to their temperamental qualities and their mental reactions to people. Consequently, each child must be considered in relation to his own possibilities and in the light of his own personality rather than in relation to a standard established by another child, even a brother.

Books for Young Readers

"Once Upon a Time—and Far Away"

Prince Bantam. By May McNeer and Lynd Ward. The Macmillan Co., 1929. 229 pp. \$2.50. (From 11 to 13.)

Hindu Fables. By Dhan Gopal Mukerji. E. P. Dutton & Co., 1929. \$2.50. (From 12 to 14.)

Trumpeter of Krakow. By Eric P. Kelly. The Macmillan Co., 1928. 218 pp. \$2.50. (From 11 to 14.)

Girls in Africa. By Erick Berry. The Macmillan Co., 1928. 128 pp. \$2.00. (From 8 to 10.)

Ours is an age of revelation in facts. We are so thrilled with the achievements of science and discovery that we are eager to share with our children this joy of knowledge. Thus we set before them a generous diet of books on electricity, on nature science, on exploration and travel, on construction and flying—all factual books with "reality" as the keynote.

With this fierce emphasis upon our adult love of facts is there a danger that we rob our children's

reading world of the beauty of fantasy and the richness of folk lore? Though, quite properly, we may hesitate to give young children fairy tales with their elements of magical wish fulfillment, cruelty and fear, yet the best of these stories have their proper place in the development of the child's inner life and they fill a very real need.

"Prince Bantam" is a dramatic legend of old Japan—with its small princely hero battling with gnomes and other countless enemies of his race. Single handed, he defeats the huge Benkei of the Western Pagoda and so secures the devoted allegiance of this mischievous giant. These two, skilful and brave, have many adventures in a tale which moves swiftly and at the same time conveys the beauty of the ancient Oriental setting. The volume itself is a triumph of book making, illustration and print—the whole format enhances the tale with its rare harmony and artistic quality.

Dhan Gopal Mukerji has given us "Hindu Fables," simple tales interwoven with the memories of his own childhood in India. The wisdom and philosophy of his race underlie these charming stories which will delight the younger reader with their color and setting.

"The Trumpeter of Krakow" achieved special notice this spring by receiving the Newbery Medal as the most distinguished contribution of 1928 to American literature for children. It is a tale of the Middle Ages, set in the great university town of Krakow. Its young hero comes to the great city with his parents. Through his keen eyes we behold the turbulent life of the times—the market, the superstitious plain folk, the great scholars that still toy with magic, the plotting thieves and the splendor of the King's Court. The dramatic story is told with a fine sense of reality and of moral values and may be ranked with "Otto of the Silver Hand," and "The Prince and the Pauper," which have so long and so pleasantly opened the gates of history to the younger readers.

The Dark Continent is the scene, and gentle black maidens the subject of another outstanding book of the year. "Girls in Africa" gives us the happy result that such a combination makes possible. The author's sympathy and understanding of the simple folk of Nigeria enable him to give us vivid pictures of personalities and customs in that far away land. Each story establishes a different native type and is a delight to read.

As the fireside days approach and shorter sun-shine bring us in from summer wanderings out-of-doors, one of these volumes will perhaps satisfy a child's need for beauty and pure fancy, for the love of "once upon a time" and "long ago."

MRS. HUGH GRANT STRAUS.

Books

What Can We Expect of Our Children?

IT SEEMS at first glance strangely paradoxical that at the same time when psychology is concerning itself intensively with general trends and central tendencies in child behavior, with norms of physical growth and of emotional and social recreation, it is also becoming increasingly aware of the unique individuality of each child. And yet this double interest is easily understood, for these two avenues of approach to the study of childhood are really supplementary and mutually illuminating. Through the study of individual cases, one arrives at norms; whereas, in the light of general curves, one detects the individual. It is but natural that many new books have appeared within the past year or two which throw light on child development from both these sources.

On the one hand there are several excellent new texts which concern themselves with the mental testing field. Considerable time has elapsed since mental testing was a revolutionary and controversial concept, the subject of extravagant claims mixed with gross misinterpretation. In the volume "*A Manual of Individual Mental Tests and Testing*" by Healy, Bronner and others, we have well classified, described and evaluated a great variety of tests which are designed to ascertain not only general intelligence but also specialized abilities.

The mental test is, of course, one of the accepted ways in which individual differences among children are discovered and judged. From the early tests which concern themselves largely with mental caliber, many workers have branched out into related fields. A vast number of new tests have been devised which aim at still finer differentiation along the lines of character, personality, vocational aptitude and the like. Ruch and Stoddard have recently published an extremely helpful book in this field which is more limited in scope than the "*Manual*" just referred to but which gives in great detail tests specifically related to high school instruction. The attempt to devise adequate

tests of various age levels is an interesting step in advance in this whole field of individual differences.

Though it is well recognized that to draw general conclusions from a limited number of specific instances is dangerous in that it is frequently misleading, the study of individual cases often throws much light on a general problem, since each individual case contains a certain core of factors common to other cases of a similar nature. One is thus able to recognize a general tendency or an underlying law through the medium of a well described, specific instance. It is this fact which renders such books as *Blanche Weill's "*The Behavior of Young Children of the Same Family*," and †Mary Buell Sayles' "*The Problem Child At Home*" of particular value in a study of personality and behavior differences. Though these two books are somewhat different in their underlying hypotheses, they fulfill similar missions, that is, to bring graphic clinical evidence to bear upon the idea that each child must be considered in terms of his own background and environment, and that each child's behavior is conditioned and shaped by those circumstances which affect him personally and make him different from all other children however similar their lives may seem.

More technical works which are useful to the student of individual differences from the psychological point of view are the following: "*The Psychology of Individual Differences*" by Robert S. Ellis; "*How We Inherit*" by Edgar Altenburg; "*The Twenty-seventh Yearbook of the National Society for the Study of Education on Nature and Nurture*" edited by Guy Montrose Whipple. The trained layman or the student of psychology will find these three books detailed in their treatment and broad in scope.

The study of differences among people is a fascinating one, the literature of which will be constantly enriched and augmented as the individual differences among psychologists become more clearly defined.

MARION M. MILLER.

Children's Behavior and Teachers' Attitudes. By E. K. Wickman. The Commonwealth Fund, Division of Publications, 1928. 247 pp. \$2.00.

As the foreword so aptly puts it, the title of this excellent book might well be "How Teachers Behave When Children Misbehave." This study centers in an investigation of behavior problems of children con-

ducted during 1925-26 in one public school in Cleveland. The project was undertaken in cooperation with the Bureau of Educational Research of the Cleveland Board of Education. The general findings of this study seem to be that the reactions of most teachers are personal, emotional responses to children

* Reviewed in *CHILD STUDY*, January, 1929, p. 97.
† Reviewed in *CHILD STUDY*, February, 1929, p. 129.

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who exhibit problems of behavior, and that the reaction is made primarily to the undesirable behavior with which the child is identified rather than to the child as an individual who is attempting to solve the difficulties of his environment.

How We Inherit. By Edgar Altenburg. Henry Holt & Co., 1928. 273 pp. \$3.00.

This is another book that comes as a boon to the average parent as it is intelligible and interesting to the general reader and presupposes no previous knowledge of biology.

The author believes that interest in the laws of heredity can be best stimulated by approaching the subject through its relation to human beings, and he has proved his case conclusively. In this modest, yet clear and lucid volume, the findings of the scientists, the fruits of many years of research and experiment, are translated into lay terms for the benefit of parents or others who are interested in learning what they may of the known laws of transmission and inheritance.

A Manual of Individual Mental Tests and Testing. By Augusta F. Bronner, William Healy, Gladys M. Lowe and Myra E. Shimberg. Little Brown & Co., 1927. 287 pp. \$3.50.

This manual is the fourth publication of the Judge Baker Foundation in Boston and constitutes a valuable contribution to our knowledge of the mental testing of the individual. Chapter I describes the need for adequate criticism and evaluation of the results of mental testing, and the great urgency for the utilization of a much wider range of tests, while Chapter II is devoted to practical procedure, favorable conditions for testing, selection of tests and interpretations. The second part of the book has been planned to include every adequately standardized individual test, that is, tests whose averages and medians are based on a minimum of fifty cases. In Chapter VIII, however, the authors have included thirty tests which, though used and apparently worth while, are inadequately standardized. These are offered as a basis for research for many years to come. Part III consists of the Interpretation of the Tests; Part IV, Other Fields of Testing; and Part V, the Appendix, includes a Bibliography. The accurate, scientific manner in which this material has been presented and the findings evaluated is in marked contrast to much of the dogmatic and inadequate material available which has only served to confuse and bewilder the average parent. A careful study of this manual will repay the parent who wants to know just what his child's IQ signifies.

The Psychology of Individual Differences. By Robert Sidney Ellis. D. Appleton & Co., 1928. 533 pp. \$3.50.

An introduction to the problems, the methods, the results and the applications of the psychology of individual differences. As the material presented has been arranged for the reader or student who has not had a thorough grounding in psychology and biology, it has been necessary to devote the first part of the book to a discussion of statistics, mental measurements and inheritance as well as to some elementary psychology, physiology and neurology. The latter part of the book deals with the applications of the psychology of individual differences. The chapters on "The Effect of Environment on Individual Differences," "Sex Differences," "Race Differences in Mental Traits," "Superiority and Genius" and "Mental Deficiency" are particularly valuable.

It is very gratifying to parents who belong to that large and eager group known as laymen to note the increasing tendency of the scientific specialist to translate his knowledge into terms intelligible to those of average education.

Tests and Measurements in High School Instruction. By G. M. Ruch and George D. Stoddard. World Book Co., 1927. 381 pp. \$2.20.

This volume has been prepared primarily as a summary of the available tests and test methods in high school instruction. Certain historical facts are included in the opening chapters, and in Chapter IV there is an interesting and valuable critical outline to be used in selecting tests. Part II consists of descriptions of high school tests by subjects, such as mathematics, science, English and vocational tests. Part III describes the rôle of informal objective examinations; and Part IV gives the construction of educational and mental tests. This book will be of greatest value to teachers and educators, but should also prove enlightening to parents interested in keeping informed about the latest trends in public education.

ELINOR G. LEEB, Chairman
Bibliography Committee
of the Child Study Association of America

The Child Study Association has published a Supplement which adds twenty-seven new titles to the 1928 edition of the "Selected List of Books for Parents and Teachers."

IN THE MAGAZINES

The Changing Discipline in Home and School. By Cloyd Heck Marvin. *School Life*, July, 1929.

The entire number is devoted to aspects of discipline, under the general headings of "Discipline in the Home," "School Government and Discipline," "Corporal Punishment," "Right and Wrong Discipline Psychologically Examined" and "Educational Methods and Self-Discipline."

Discipline and Freedom. By William F. Russell. *Independent Education*, June, 1929.

Defining and interpreting both extreme schools of education, on the one hand formal discipline, on the other the freedom school, the writer concludes that since experience teaches that the individual is called on at one time to lead, at another to follow, education must provide for both kinds of development.

Does Behavior Depend on Health? By Zilpha Carruthers Franklin. *The Parents' Magazine*, August, 1929

Discusses the degree to which children's behavior may be influenced by physical health factors, and warns against either underestimating or overemphasizing physical causation in behavior problems.

Everywhere Schools Are Different. By Beatrice Ensor. *The Journal of the National Education Association*, May, 1929.

For the benefit of the American visitor, Mrs. Ensor, Executive Director of the New Education Fellowship, London, describes a number of outstanding schools in England and on the Continent.

Growing Children Are Studied at Washington Child Research Center. By Mandel Sherman. *School Life*, June, 1929.

A study of nursery school age, including the development of the normal and the problem child; class teaching and parent education in which fathers participate; experimental observation of the development of the nursery school child and his growth of intelligence as compared with the non-nursery school child; co-operation with other institutions.

Old and New Versions of Child Training. Mental Hygiene Bulletin, June, 1929.

"People Used to Think." "Now People Are Beginning to Realize." Under these captions twenty

different ways of "then" and "now" are listed, based on former ways and on new psychological approach and mental hygiene.

Parent-Teacher Associations Partners in Higher Education. By Cloyd Heck Marvin. *School Life*, June, 1929.

One of the recent trends in the field of education is the development of parental cooperation in higher education. This is becoming a factor, by means of a joint interest of parent and institution for the development of the personal and social life of the student, and in another direction by means of courses in many universities for parent education and for knowledge of the parent-teacher movement.

The Rural Library on Wheels. *Child Welfare*, June, 1929. (Reprint, *Ithaca Journal News*, N. Y.)

How the "Bookmobile" makes its rounds in a rural district, stopping before the "little red school houses" where eager young readers wait for another book.

Should We Hand-Pick Our Children's Friends? By Helen L. Kaufman. *The Parents' Magazine*, August, 1929.

Examines the factors which influence children's choice of friends, and warns parents against the temptation to force upon their children their own prejudices and tastes in the matter.

What Has Gotten into That Child? By Goodwin Watson. *Childhood Education*, June, 1929.

A change of approach and attitude toward child behavior is described, transforming the so-called "good, conscientious" child into the problem child, and placing the active, questioning, so-called "disturbing" child into the normal realm. Children's habits and lies are discussed in relation to behavior.

When We Celebrate Successes in the Child. By Garry Cleveland Myers. *Babyhood*, June, 1929.

A skilful parent calls forth participation instead of negation when the child is made to feel that he is a helpful factor in successful achievements. Many practical hints are given.

The Winnetka School. By S. R. Logan. *The Journal of the National Education Association*, June, 1929.

A detailed report of the development and organization of the Winnetka System.

SUCCESS AND FAILURE IN CHILDHOOD

(Continued from page 13)

of making their behavior and that of their children radically different from that of the community group. This may be a hardship to the child who has a strong sense of "wanting to belong."

EVALUATING SUCCESS

In many cases the parent expects the child to be successful in a type of behavior which is of no intrinsic value for him. The emphasis on success must be differentiated from the ideal for which one strives. In instances such as these cited above, the child was unsuccessful according to the parent's way of thinking, quite apart from any evaluation of the objective.

The pressure of modern living increases the difficulty of maintaining a continually satisfactory adjustment. Convenience often dictates a schedule for daily routine which must of necessity be a compromise between the various needs of the children. In the household containing two children there is a tendency to expect more in the way of independence in personal management of the younger one, with frequent comparisons unfavorable to him. These often result in unnecessary discouragement.

PEACE IS NOT ALWAYS PERFECT

The fact that two such children often play together happily lulls parents into a belief that this companionship is ideal and sufficient. In such circumstances it is usually the older child who is affected adversely. He has had to contend only with one younger than himself, has been the unquestioned leader in all enterprises and never has had to exert himself to his fullest capacity in order to be effective. The result, when he finally associates with his peers, may well be a long period of discouragement because of inability to meet the social requirements of his age group.

We must examine frequently the schedules by which we regulate the routine of our children's lives and revise them when necessary in order to have them serve the most effective adjustment of the children.

The factors from without are easy to regulate compared with those which have their foundation in the innate being of the child, particularly since we, as parents, see through such prejudiced eyes. In judging our children's traits, we tend to use ourselves as the criteria. "He does that just as I do" or "He has so little interest in reading and I love it so; I can't understand it" are usual comments. The child who is most like us may be nearest our hearts and we may pour out on him all the pleasure derived from a happy recognition of an extension of ourselves.

Observation of astuteness in mathematics in our child, where mathematics is our own private delight, impels us to bestow a praise on him which is often out of proportion to the value of his accomplishment.

This special feeling of kinship with one child rather than with another, so often observed in a family group and as often vehemently denied by the parent in question, needs to be frankly faced by him, for only then can he show affection and interest for all with a minimum of bias. Our reluctance to admit such partiality to ourselves seems rooted in the fear that there is something irrevocable about an emotional attitude consciously formulated. The parent fears that his preference for a particular child is a distortion of the true parental feeling. He senses the blighting effect on the less loved child. But the situation will only be intensified and distorted by spasmodic over-anxious efforts to compensate for it. Whatever the basis of his feeling of dismay regarding his own difference in attitude toward his children, the wise parent will strive to recognize and understand it.

ANALYZING LIKES AND DISLIKES

Such attempts have been the basis of prolonged analytic studies, highly illuminating when applied to ordinary family situations. We are sometimes dimly aware that the loved child reminds us of some special person or trait. This reminder is related to a very deep-rooted mechanism of identification by which we invest the child with feelings which we have for our parents, our mates or even for one of our own personality characteristics. This is an example of one of the types of mechanism determining such special attitudes. While our own study of the matter cannot then uncover all possible roots of the bias, it can give us additional insight and a better chance to think and act objectively. These processes apply, of course, not only to the child who absorbs us, but also to the child who makes us uneasy or unhappy.

It is well to consider carefully what is involved when we find ourselves saying, "I want my child to be successful." We must evaluate fairly his special capacities for achievement and nourish them. We must eliminate as far as we are able our emotional biases, so that he may follow and develop his own trends. Let us regulate his immediate environment constantly to this end. Let us help him strive to approximate what is for him the highest degree of success, as was done in the case of one small boy who was unequally pitted against his classmates at a Greek games festival. This slight, sensitive ten-year-old could not hope to be among the winners. By putting forth intense efforts he attained his ambition "not to be last" and was rightfully entitled to the satisfaction of having achieved success.

Individual Differences

(Continued from page 6)

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There is no way to avoid the occurrence of individual differences, and as a matter of fact, who would want to? It is really by virtue of their existence that we can each find the niche which is most nearly molded to our form without, in the process, depriving some one else of his rightful place.

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It is therefore planned to consider specific vocational questions as one part of the discussion of "The Development of Skills and Interests"—the subject for the June, 1930, issue of CHILD STUDY. Miss Gertrude R. Stein, Dr. Emily Thorp Burr and Miss Louise C. Odencrantz, all of whom are professional vocational counselors with a wide background of knowledge and experience, have consented to collaborate in such a discussion. They have suggested that it can be made most concrete and helpful if they consider the direct questions which many readers of CHILD STUDY must be facing at the present time.

They therefore ask that all readers of "Child Study" send in to them the problems they personally meet in the guidance of the children and young people in whom they are interested.

These questions will form the basis for the article which Miss Stein, Dr. Burr and Miss Odencrantz will write for the June CHILD STUDY. Questions may be sent at any time and should reach the advisors not

later than January 1. Address CHILD STUDY, 509 West 121st Street, New York City.

Miss Gertrude R. Stein is manager of the Vocational Service Agency, a placement bureau for professional and business women. She is a graduate of Barnard College and of the New York School of Social Work; has organized and run employment bureaus at the New York Probation Association, at the Hudson Guild and at the Institute for Crippled and Disabled Men. She has given vocational guidance to juniors at the Hudson Guild and to the handicapped while with the New York State Rehabilitation Bureau.

Dr. Emily Thorp Burr is a psychologist and director of the Vocational Adjustment Bureau, an organization engaged in the study and placement of maladjusted girls. She is a graduate of Barnard College and has a master's degree and a doctor's degree in philosophy from Columbia University. She has had wide experience in psychological fields as well as in vocational guidance. She has taught and lectured on applied psychology and the behavior problems of children and adolescents.

Miss Louise C. Odencrantz is director of the Employment Center for the Handicapped. She has a master's degree from Columbia University in economics, and was formerly industrial investigator for the Russell Sage Foundation. She also organized the juvenile department for guidance and placement in the public employment offices in the State of New York, and was personnel director for a large manufacturer.

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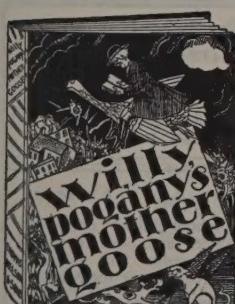
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